

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 141266

E.O. 11652:XGDS-3

TAGS: SHUM, TO

SUBJECT:REPUBLIC OF TOGO - DRAFT HUMAN RIGHTS COUNTRY  
ACTION PLAN  
REF: STATE 139160

1. THE GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS HAVE BEEN TASKED TO PREPARE HUMAN RIGHTS EVALUATION REPORTS INCLUDING AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT CONDITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN EACH COUNTRY AND THE PROPOSED OBJECTIVES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING THOSE CONDITIONS.

2. THIS CABLE TRANSMITS THE DESK'S DRAFT REPORT FOR YOUR COMMENTS. YOUR RESPONSE IS REQUESTED BY JUNE 27 SO THAT THE BUREAU CAN MEET THE SUBMISSION DATE OF JULY 1. SLUG CABLE FOR AF DISTRIBUTION ONLY.

3. THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE COUNTRY EVALUATION WILL BE CLASSIFIED IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652. REPORTS WILL BE USED AS SOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE SECRET

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PREPARATION OF ANNUAL HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS ON ALL COUNTRIES WHICH ARE RECIPIENTS OF US SECURITY ASSISTANCE, AND WILL BE SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS COORDINATING COMMITTEE, CHAIRED BY THE DEPUTY SECRETARY.

4. DRAFT PLAN

A. CONDITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN TOGO.

1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

A) TORTURE: OCCASIONAL USE BUT NOT AS A MATTER OF POLICY. NO RECENT KNOWN CASES.

B) CRUEL, INHUMAN OR DEGRADING PUNISHMENT: A FEW CASES REPORTED BUT EVIDENCE NOT CLEAR. NO RECENT KNOWN CASES. PRESIDENT STATED IN 1976 CLOSED PARTY MEETING THAT SUCH ACTIONS MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY SUBORDINATES WITHOUT HIS KNOWLEDGE.

C) ARBITRARY ARREST OR IMPRISONMENT: NOT USUAL BUT AUTHORITIES WILL NOT HESITATE TO DETAIN THOSE SUSPECTED OF POLITICAL OFFENSES. SOME 25 POLITICAL PRISONERS WERE RELEASED IN APRIL BUT 20 ADDITIONAL PERSONS HAVE SINCE BEEN ARRESTED PRIMARILY FOR DISTRIBUTING MARXIST ANTI-GOVERNMENT LITERATURE. MOST OF THOSE RECENTLY ARRESTED HAVE BEEN RELEASED. THE REGIME FEARS SOVIET INSPIRED PLOTS.

D) DENIAL OF A FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL: NOT USUAL BUT POSSIBLE IN CASE OF POLITICAL OFFENSES. SEE 1C ABOVE.

E) INVASION OF THE HOME: NOT USUAL EXCEPT FOR POLITICAL CASES.

## 2. RESPECT FOR POLITICAL AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.

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A) FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, RELIGION, ASSEMBLY: GENERALLY RESPECTED EXCEPT THAT UNAUTHORIZED EXPRESSIONS OF POLITICAL OPINION ARE SUPPRESSED. SEE 1C ABOVE. PRESS IS GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED.

B) FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN A COUNTRY, FOREIGN TRAVEL AND EMIGRATION POLICIES: FREE MOVEMENT GENERALLY RESPECTED.

C) DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES ASSURING THE FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS: LIMITED; NO ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, THERE ARE PARTY MECHANISMS FOR GRASS ROOTS EXPRESSION.

## 3. RECENT TRENDS IN GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES RELATING TO THE FULFILLMENT OF BASIC NEEDS FOR FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION.

A) POLICIES DESIGNED TO RESPOND TO THE NEEDS OF THE POOR: EXPANSION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, HEALTH FACILITIES AND SCHOOLS ARE CLEARLY A PART OF TOGO'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM BUT RESOURCE BASE IS LIMITED. -- POLICIES WHICH TEND TO IGNORE THE NEEDS OF THE POOR: MASSIVE PROJECTS TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES APPEAR TO WASTE RESOURCES.

B) CORRUPTION OF SUCH A NATURE THAT SIGNIFICANT RESOURCES ARE DIVERTED TOWARD THE NATION'S ELITES AND AWAY FROM THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION: EXTENT OF CORRUPTION DIFFICULT TO GAUGE. APPARENTLY NORMAL FOR LOW LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT, PREDOMINANCE OF PERSONAL AND GROUP ASSOCIATIONS OVER LEGAL REGULATORY INSTITUTIONS. PROBABLY SOME BIG TAKERS AT HIGH LEVELS. DIVERSION OF RESOURCES LIKELY BUT MAJOR EXAMPLES NOT APPARENT.

4. LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR FOREGOING HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD:

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A) EXTENT TO WHICH POSITIVE HUMAN RIGHTS MEASURES AS PUBLIC POLICY ARE ARTICULATED: GOVERNMENT DOES NOT MAKE EFFORT TO ARTICULATE POSITIVE HUMAN RIGHTS MEASURES EXCEPT ALONG LINES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AS IN A-3 ABOVE. GOVERNMENT STRONGLY SUPPORTS NATIONALISM AND LOYALTY TO GOVERNMENT PARTY WHICH IT PERCEIVES AS MEANS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL UPLIFTING OF MASSES. INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS TEND TO BE SECONDARY.

B) EXTENT TO WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS CONDONED AS PUBLIC POLICY BECAUSE OF SECURITY OR OTHER JUSTIFICATIONS: POLITICAL DISSENT IS NOT TOLERATED EXCEPT IN CONFINES OF PARTY ORGANIZATION AND LOYALTY, HOWEVER GOVERNMENT DOES NOT USUALLY PUBLICLY JUSTIFY ITS POLITICAL SECURITY MEASURES. PRESENT GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN IN POWER FOR OVER 10 YEARS AND SITUATION RELATIVELY STABLE. GIVEN EXISTING TRIBAL DIFFERENCES, STRAINS ACCOMPANYING DEVELOPMENT AND EVIDENT DISRUPTION IN OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES, THE REGIME FEELS JUSTIFIED IN MAINTAINING TIGHT SYSTEM. AS INDICATED BY PRISONER RELEASE, THERE IS SOME ROOM FOR LOOSENING UP BUT CURRENT SOVIET/CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA ARE OF INCREASING CONCERN TO GOVERNMENT AND MAY INHIBIT RELAXATION.

5. WILLINGNESS AND PAST RECORD OF THE GOVERNMENT REGARDING INDEPENDENT, OUTSIDE INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS: LITTLE IS KNOWN ON THIS SCORE BUT GOVERNMENT PROBABLY WOULD NOT HAVE ALLOWED SUCH INVESTIGATION IN PAST. IN ITS 1975-76 REPORT AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL NOTED SOME 20 POLITICAL PRISONERS IN TOGO BUT INSUFFICIENT DATA. PRESIDENT EYADEMA PUBLICLY MAINTAINED THAT TOGO HAD NO POLITICAL PRISONERS. OUR EMBASSY WAS PRIVATELY INFORMED OF RELEASES IN APRIL FOLLOWED BY ADDITIONAL ARRESTS AND RELEASES. (SEE ITEM 1C ABOVE).

ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT TOWARDS INDEPENDENT OUTSIDE  
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INVESTIGATION AT THIS POINT NOT CLEAR.

B. ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

1. LEGITIMATE OBJECTIVES OVER NEXT THREE TO TWELVE MONTHS IN RELATION TO IMPROVING CONDITIONS WITH RESPECT TO CATEGORIES A-1,2 AND 3 ABOVE.

(1) RESPECT FOR INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON.

OBJECTIVE: FOLLOW UP ON GOVERNMENT'S APPARENT DESIRE TO KEEP DOWN NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

IMPORTANCE: TIMELY AND CRITICAL AS GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN INITIATIVE ALREADY BUT ALSO BACKTRACKED. GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZES THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES REGARDING POLITICAL PRISONERS.

FEASIBILITY: IT IS LIKELY PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN THIS DIRECTION BUT GOVERNMENT IS STILL CONCERNED ABOUT SECURITY AND POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET INFLUENCE.

U.S. LEVERAGE: NO MILITARY ASSISTANCE, LIMITED ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. THREAT TO CUT ASSISTANCE WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. OFFER TO INCREASE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE COULD BE INFLUENTIAL. INITIATION OF LIMITED MILITARY TRAINING COULD EXPOSE TRAINEES TO USG ATTITUDE ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

EFFECT OF ARMS ASSISTANCE NOT CLEAR.

LIKELY INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT: POSSIBLY FROM COUNTRY HAVING IMPORTANT RELATIONS WITH TOGO SUCH AS FRANCE, FRG, OR IVORY COAST.

OPTIONS; A) AMBASSADOR HAS ALREADY ASKED AID TO CONSIDER POSSIBILITY OF BILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR TOGO AND  
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INCREASE OF AID INPUT. REQUEST AID TO HASTEN CONSIDERATION OF THESE OBJECTIVES.

B) INITIATE MILITARY TRAINING FOR TOGO FOR FY 77 USING RECOVERED FUNDS. OVER LONG TERM RECONSIDER TOGO'S INELIGIBILITY FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE AND HOW MILITARY ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE PRODUCTIVE.

C) IFI LOANS SUPPORT SUCH LOANS FOR TOGO AND LET GOVERNMENT KNOW THAT WE ARE TAKING HUMAN RIGHTS INTO ACCOUNT WHEN CONSIDERING THESE PLANS BECAUSE OF TOGO'S APPARENT INTEREST IN REDUCING NUMBER OF POLITICAL PRISONERS.

D) EXIM BANK CREDITS -EXIM HAS RECENTLY EXTENDED CREDIT TO TOGO. HOLD ENCOURAGEMENT OF FURTHER EXTENSIONS FOR FUTURE.

E) QUIET DIPLOMACY - EMBASSY HAS MADE CLEAR U.S. INTEREST IN THIS MATTER TO GOVERNMENT OF TOGO. EMBASSY SHOULD CONTINUE TO DO SO.

(2) RESPECT FOR POLITICAL AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.

OBJECTIVE: TRY TO CONVINCE REGIME THAT IT IS SECURE ENOUGH TO LOOSEN UP ON POLITICAL DISSENT;

IMPORTANCE: SECONDARY TO POLITICAL PRISONER ISSUE. SHOULD BE HELD UP UNTIL POLITICAL PRISONER ISSUE CLARIFIED.

FEASIBILITY: PROGRESS MIGHT BE MADE IN THIS DIRECTION BUT GOVERNMENT IS INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT SOVIET ACTIVITIES AND INSTABILITY IN AFRICA.

U.S. LEVERAGE: SAME AS ABOVE.

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LIKELY INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT: SAME AS ABOVE.

OPTIONS: SAME AS ABOVE WITH THIS OBJECTIVE SECOND IN LINE.

(3) POLICIES RELATING TO FULFILLMENT OF BASIC NEEDS FOR FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION.

OBJECTIVE: ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO IMPROVE IN THIS AREA. DISCOURAGE UNECONOMIC PROJECTS.

IMPORTANCE: LONG TERM IMPORTANCE FOR OVERALL DEVELOPMENT

OF HUMAN RIGHTS. SHORT AND LONG TERM IMPORTANCE FOR LEVERAGE.

FEASIBILITY: TO EXTENT U.S. WILLING TO ASSIST, ALTHOUGH THERE WILL BE DIFFERENCE IN PLANNING PRIORITIES AND ON ECONOMIC FEASIBILITY OF SOME PROJECTS.

LIKELY INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT: COUNTRIES HAVING IMPORTANT TIES WITH TOGO SUCH AS FRANCE AND FRG, IFI'S INTERESTED IN HELPING TOGO BUT PROBABLY NOT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS OBJECTIVES.

U.S. LEVERAGE: SAME AS IN (1) ABOVE; AID PROJECTS SUCH AS: PL-480: TOGO HAS A FOOD SHORTAGE AND HAS REQUESTED A

PL-480 TITLE II EMERGENCY PROGRAM. WE HAVE TAKEN ACTION TO MEET THIS REQUEST.

HOUSING: AID IS CONSIDERING A DOLS 5 MILLION HOUSING LOAN FOR TOGO.

HEALTH: AID IS CONSIDERING A FAMILY HEALTH PROJECT FOR TOGO. LEVERAGE FOR OBJECTIVE 3 IS MORE CLOSELY TIED TO THAT OBJECTIVE THAN IS AVAILABLE LEVERAGE FOR OBJECTIVES 1 AND 2. LEVERAGE FOR OBJECTIVE 3 IS APPLICABLE TO  
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OBJECTIVES 1 AND 2 AND CAN BE INCORPORATED AS APPROPRIATE.

OPTIONS: SAME AS A, C AND D FOR OBJECTIVE 1 AND:

PL-480: CONTINUE TO BE RESPONSIVE TO TOGOLESE REQUEST.

HOUSING: CONTINUE TO MOVE FORWARD ON HOUSING LOAN PROPOSAL FOR TOGO.

HEALTH: CONTINUE TO MOVE FORWARD ON FAMILY HEALTH PROJECT.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

FOLLOW OPTIONS FOR OBJECTIVE 1 USING THIS COURSE OF ACTION FOR OBJECTIVE 2 AS SEEMS APPROPRIATE. FOR OBJECTIVE 3 MOVE TOWARDS IMPLEMENTATION OF OPTIONS INDICATED.

2. PRINCIPAL REACTION IN HOST COUNTRY TO THE NEW U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES AND EMBASSY ACTIONS AND PROPOSED ACTIONS IN SUPPORT OF THOSE POLICIES: THE GOVERNMENT OF TOGO HAS BEEN AWARE OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES THROUGH THE PUBLIC MEDIA AND CONVERSATIONS WITH OUR AMBASSADOR. THE RELEASE OF PRISONERS IN APRIL WAS APPARENTLY TO CORRECT TOGO'S POOR HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE AND PROBABLY IN EXPECTATION OF INCREASED U.S. ASSISTANCE. HOWEVER, THE SUBSEQUENT ARRESTS AND RELEASES RAISE SOME DOUBTS AS TO THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE. TOGO REMAINS CONCERNED ABOUT SOVIET ACTIVITIES AND INSTABILITY IN AFRICA WHICH IT CONSIDERS AS A POTENTIAL THREAT TO SECURITY IN TOGO. WE DO NOT KNOW THE REACTION OF NON-GOVERNMENT GROUPS TO OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES BUT WE BELIEVE THESE GROUPS, AND INDEED SOME ELEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT, WOULD APPRECIATE A GRADUAL LOOSENING OF RESTRICTION ON FREEDOM OF POLITICAL EXPRESSION IN TOGO.

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3. IMPLICATIONS OF REACTIONS IN TERMS OF IMPLICATIONS  
FOR POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE CHANGES IN HUMAN RIGHTS  
CONDITIONS: THE PROSPECT FOR GRADUAL CHANGE APPEARS  
HOPEFUL.

4. A. IMPACT OF ACTIONS ON U.S. INTERESTS: THE ABOVE  
PLANNED COURSE OF ACTION, IF APPLIED WITH FLEXIBILITY,  
SHOULD BE HELPFUL TO U.S. INTERESTS.

B. LIKELIHOOD OF HOST GOVERNMENT SUPPORTING U.S. EFFORTS  
TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-  
GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS: THE GOVERNMENT OF TOGO WOULD  
PROBABLY BE RECEPTIVE BUT TO WHAT EXTENT REMAINS TO BE  
SEEN. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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